

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SOE-02 AF-10
ARA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01
DOE-15 CEQ-01 OES-07 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 03594

E.O. 11652:GDS
TAGS: PARM, TECH, ENRG, SP
SUBJ: NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY ADHERENCE - SPAIN

REF: STATE 72980; MADRID 1578; MADRID 2410

1. EMBASSY HAS VERY MUCH IN MIND THE US FOREIGN POLICY
OBJECTIVE OF UNIVERSAL ADHERENCE TO THE NPT, AND EVERY
OPPORTUNITY IS TAKEN TO URGE THE GOS TO BECOME A PARTY
TO THE TREATY. THE AMBASSADOR HAS RAISED THE MATTER
WITHIN THE LAST FEW WEEKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA,
WHO SAID THAT, WHILE ADHERENCE TO THE NPT WAS NOT ENTIRELY
RULED OUT, IT WOULD BE MOST DIFFICULT AT THIS TIME.

2. IN GENERAL, THE SPANISH HAVE THE FOLLOWING CHAIN OF
REASONING FOR RELUCTANCE TO SIGN THE NPT: SPAIN HAS NO
SECURITY GUARANTY AND IS NOT PROTECTED BY A NUCLEAR
UMBRELLA; ITS NEIGHBORS HAVE NOT ALL SIGNED THE NPT
(ALGERIA SPECIFICALLY, ALTHOUGH FRANCE IS OCCASIONALLY
MENTIONED); EVENTS COULD LEAD IN TIME TO A CONFRONTATION
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WITH N. AFRICAN STATES; AND, THEREFORE, A NUCLEAR OPTION
SHOULD BE MAINTAINED EVEN THOUGH SPAIN HAS NO PRESENT
INTENTION OR INTEREST IN MANUFACTURING A NUCLEAR WEAPON.

3. THE RELUCTANCE OF THE GOS TO LIMIT ITS OPTIONS AT
THIS TIME IS DUE MAINLY TO ATTITUDES OF THE SPANISH
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT TOWARD DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS OF

THE COUNTRY. THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IS INCLINED TO LOOK PARTICULARLY TO THE SOUTH IN ASSESSING POSSIBLE THREATS TO THE SECURITY OF THE NATION NOT COUNTERED BY EXISTING INSTITUTIONS OR ARRANGEMENTS. IT NOTES THAT THE GOS HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN BILATERALLY FROM THE U.S. THE SECURITY GUARANTY IT HAS SOUGHT. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS NOT INCLINED TO AGREE TO THE GOS ACCEPTING LIMITATIONS ON SPAIN'S FLEXIBILITY IN PROVIDING FOR NATIONAL SECURITY. THIS WILL NOT NECESSARILY CHANGE IF THERE SHOULD BE A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT, WITH THE SOCIALIST PSOE COMING TO POWER. THE PSOE HAS NOT YET ARTICULATED A POSITION ON THE NPT, BUT IT HAS SO FAR ADOPTED AN ANTI-NATO POSTURE, PREFERING "ARMED NEUTRALITY." WHATEVER ITS OWN VIEWS TURN OUT TO BE OVER THE LONGER TERM, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT IT WOULD BE INCLINED TO TAKE ISSUE WITH THE SPANISH MILITARY OVER THIS ASPECT OF NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY AT THIS STAGE. IT IS ALSO PERHAPS WORTH NOTING THAT THERE HAS BEEN AS YET NO SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC PRESSURE IN SPAIN FOR NPT ACCESSION. SPAIN'S LEADING (LEFT-OF-CENTER) NEWS MAGAZINE CARRIED AN ARTICLE ONLY THIS WEEK SUGGESTING THAT NON-SIGNATURE IS AN APPROPRIATE POSTURE FOR SPAIN.

4. THE GOS POSITION ON NPT MEMBERSHIP, STRONGLY SHAPED AS IT IS BY VIEWS OF THE SPANISH MILITARY, COULD BE CHANGED AS A RESULT OF SPAIN'S ENTRY INTO NATO OR AS A RESULT OF NPT ADHERENCE BY ALGERIA AND OTHER NEARBY
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NON-NPT STATES. AS THE AMBASSADOR HAS FREQUENTLY POINTED OUT TO SPANISH OFFICIALS, NATO WOULD PROVIDE THE DESIRED NUCLEAR UMBRELLA. HOWEVER, THE SPANISH DECISION ON WHETHER TO JOIN NATO IS NOT LIKELY TO BE MADE SOON, ALTHOUGH, AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, ONE OF OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES IS TO MOVE SPAIN TO NATO MEMBERSHIP AND WE ARE CONSTANTLY WORKING TOWARD THAT END. BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE GOOD TACTIC WITH RESPECT TO MOVING SPAIN TOWARD THE ALLIANCE TO MAKE A SPECIAL POINT OF NPT ADHERENCE AS A REASON FOR SPAIN'S JOINING NATO. ALTHOUGH THAT MIGHT BE A DIVIDEND, IT IS NOT NOW ONE OF THE MAJOR ARGUMENTS IN THE SPANISH MIND, AND IT COULD BE TURNED AROUND BY OPPONENTS OF THE ALLIANCE IN SPAIN IN AN EFFORT TO RAISE DOUBTS ABOUT THE MOTIVES OF THE U.S. IN SUPPORTING SPANISH ENTRY. IF AND WHEN SPAIN DECIDES TO JOIN THE ALLIANCE, WE SHOULD VERY STRONGLY URGE THE GOS AT THAT TIME TO SIGN AND RATIFY THE NPT AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE.

5. IN VIEW OF THE FOREGOING, THE EMBASSY ALSO DOESN'T BELIEVE PUBLIC PRESSURE WOULD HELP; RATHER WE RECOMMEND CONTINUING OUR PRESENT TACTIC OF REMINDING THE GOS AS OPPORTUNITIES ARISE OF THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO NPT

SIGNATURE. THIS WOULD BE IN THE CONTEXT PRINCIPALLY BUT NOT SOLELY OF RENEGOTIATION OF OUR NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT. THE INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER STATES THROUGH THEIR CONTACTS WITH THE SPANISH IN MULTILATERAL ENTITIES (INFCE, IAEA, IEA, ETC.), WHERE THEY MIGHT CONTINUALLY REMIND THE GOS OF THE BENEFITS OF UNIVERSAL ADHERENCE TO THE NPT, ALSO WOULD PROBABLY PROVE MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN US-SPONSORED BILATERAL APPROACHES BY OTHER SIGNATORY STATES.
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